











A F R E E

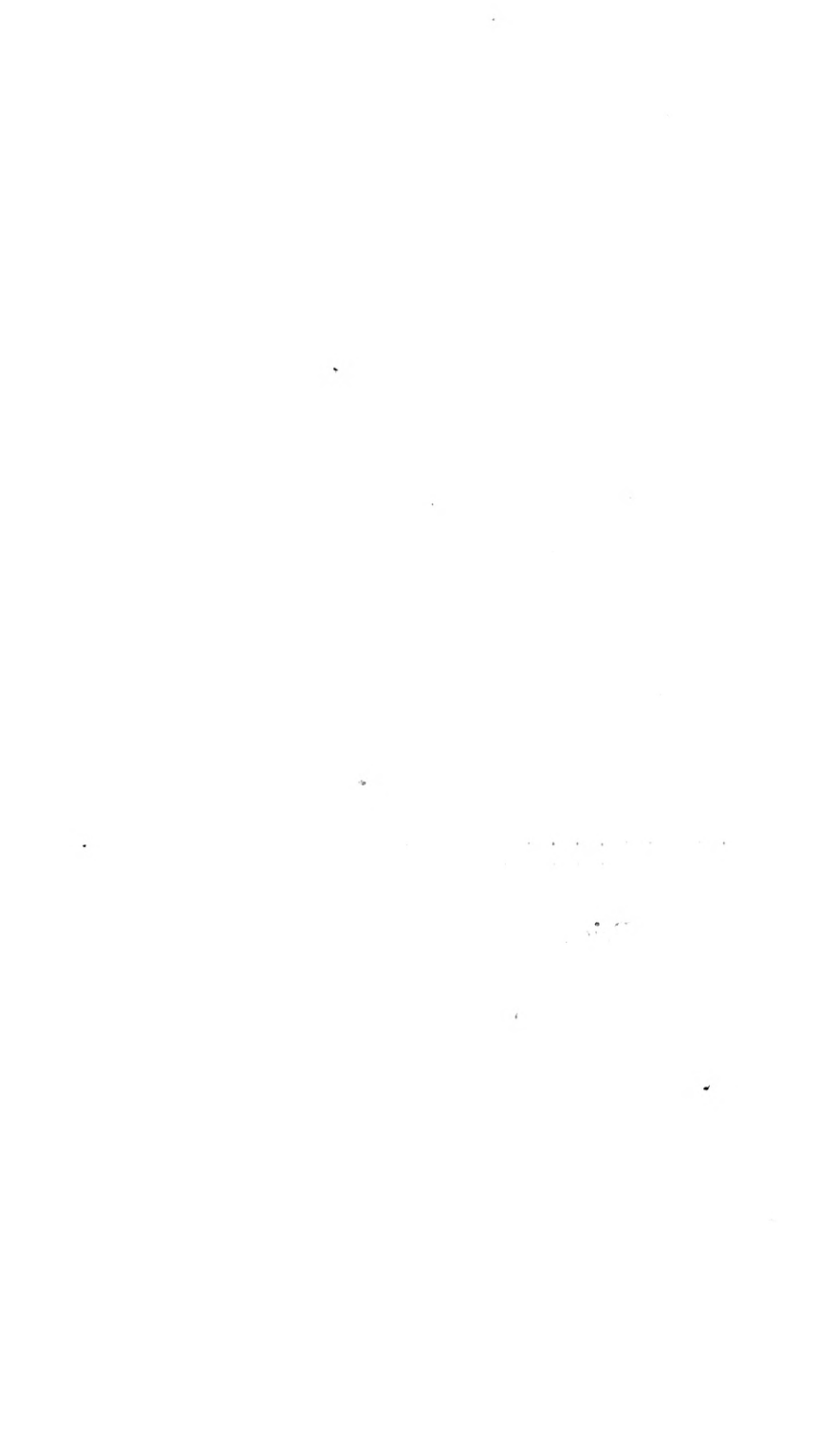
# A P P E A L

T O T H E

People of GREAT BRITAIN.



[Price One Shilling.]



A F R E E  
A P P E A L  
T O T H E  
P E O P L E of GREAT BRITAIN,  
On the CONDUCT of the  
Present Administration,  
S I N C E T H E  
Thirtieth of JULY, 1766.

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S E C O N D E D I T I O N .

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destruction which hangs over these united kingdoms. It was not to be expected, that amidst the changes which every man and thing amongst us has experienced, you (*the Bulk of the People*) should escape the common vicissitude. And hence perhaps it is, that your consideration has been so different within the period of a few months, and avowedly professed so to be by the same individuals. You have been called, and have been treated too as the most respectable tribunal, and as a factious licentious mob; you have been stiled the wisdom of the nation, and an ignorant banditti. What place you really ought to hold in the political scale, may be one of the desiderata among our statesmen; but without determining your precedence, no minister ought to be afraid to put himself upon his country. Whether that country be twelve, or twelve million, the cause is of importance, and the judgment that shall be given, essential to the peace of every ingenuous mind. Even those who have of

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*late affected* to be indifferent to the opinion of their fellow-subjects, have not lost sight thro' all the turns and windings of their conduct, of any clue which might lead them to it; and where direct applications and intreaties have failed, female embassies have not been forgotten : for my own part, I shall lay before you a true account of what has passed, and you will, I doubt not, give your verdict according to the evidence ; and here I shall not address you as a jury of the *Fame*. I will not have recourse to former versatilities, or past miscarriages, to ground from thence the probability of the present charge ; I will not now upbraid the minister with former inconsistencies, or benefits forgotten, recent transactions shall only now be mentioned ; and how far his conduct is defensible since the 30th of last July, shall confine my present enquiry : it is to be hoped, that the most impatient, the most desirous of novelties have been sated with the late changes. Men of desperate fortunes, and of evil intentions

to the public, can alone find their account in such continual fluctuations. It is time to hope that some stable government should be established, that something like order and permanency should take place, that after the variety of systems which have been formed and broken, succeeded by somewhat as emptiness at last, and insubstantial as the air bubble which went before it, men would at length unite their best endeavours for the safety of the whole : it is impossible, but that amidst the variety of men which have appeared on the public scene, you should have some option, some attachment to particular measures, and in consequence to men : common observers will not hesitate to stifle this attachment or prepossession, siding with party, and will attempt to drown every other Reflection in imputations of selfish private prejudices and designs. In the present uncertain state of things, when the springs of government have passed through so many hands, that they have lost that secret elastic power which

which gave it vigour and efficacy, you will I hope attribute whatever might otherwise bear the cast of a particular idea in favour of some one man, or set of men, to the desire of some government or other, of some settled plan of administration, which might restore our foreign consideration, and our domestic union. And you will easily perceive, that though in the present moment, I scarce know what to wish, I well know what to fear. So averse am I to repeated changes, that I am truly sorry for the dismissal of the late ministry, *because they were succeeded by the present*. I could have acquiesced for the sake of peace and quietness at least in the inability of Lord R——, that I might not see my country exposed to the desperate rashness of the Earl of C——; I wish, tho' I scarcely hope it an union of every honest man. I fear nothing more than the extravagancy of our present M——r. There seemed to be a favourable hour, in which the most jarring interests bid fair to be conciliated, and when the  
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various divisions and subdivisions amongst us, seemed willing to be *represented* in government, but this suited not the ambition of his Lordship, nor the lucrative designs of his friends, nor his own plan of despotism : he will not admit even a *Brother* near the throne. It is not designed or pretended to give extracts of private letters, or cabinet conversations. The facts here spoken of shall be of public notoriety, and an appeal may be safely made to the general bulk, even of those who stand the most commonly informed for the truth of the particulars. It was generally believed, that on the 15th of July last, such propositions were made by the Earl of C——, as he never designed should be accepted ; but however that might be, they were certainly so humiliating, so narrow and proscriptive, that the noble Lord, to whom they were offered, rejected them with a moderation and a firmness, which did credit both to his temper and his judgment. The public have already been acquainted with the  
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particulars of the negociation, as well as with the respective stipulations which accompanied his accession to power. The event was, Mr. Pitt's acceptance of a Peerage, and a *sine cure* unresponsible office for himself, his bestowing on his friends and dependents, and on those who stood in the way, Grants, Pensions, and Reversions, to the amount of the interest of a million, his contemptuous dismissal of those who did not throw themselves at his feet, and his continuing those in office, of whose submissions he thought himself assured: With regard to the Peerage, I will freely own, tho' I am not much versed in Crouner's Quest Law, that had I been upon the jury, I could not have brought it in Treason, nor even a Constructive Breach of the Peace, I should certainly have found him only, *Felo de se*.

I heartily hope, however, that the Peerage has had one effect, which we were publicly assured it was intended to produce, and which tho' now become a matter of more indifference to the  
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community, would be the most signal advantage which Mr. Pitt can or ever will derive from it, I mean the amendment of his health ; in consideration of his infirm state of health, (says the manifesto of the 16th of July) the King has been pleased to call Mr. Pitt up to the House of Peers : this is rather a new specific *for the gout*. Skilful physicians have applied it in obstinate tumors, and it has always healed and quieted ; but I suppose the Greeks *knew this*, and from henceforth an earldom will be invariably prescribed to a confirmed Democrate. But, seriously, I have always thought Mr. Pitt's acceptance of a peerage to be the effect of a timid interested mind, and of an interest not well understood. I have looked upon it as a signal of his withdrawing from the responsible posts of business ; and though he is so obliging to himself and friends, as to receive the profits of a lucrative *sine cure*, and to take the trouble of naming to every civil, ecclesiastical and military vacancy, yet he is so scrupulous



lously just to those whom he has either suffered, or named to be his subalterns in government, that he gives them up all his shares in any censure that may accrue from the measures he has directed. Among many other inconveniencies which but too evidently flow from frequent changes in administration, it is not surely the least, that men become deadened to every public feeling, and are tempted to ascribe the whole to what is but too true of the greater part, family contests, and the love of power. There is, however, in spite of the interested resentments and jealousies of individuals, a public interest, a common weal, which every man should remember, and to which, as to a safe and steady standard, the pretensions of every man, whether in or out of office, should be referred. We will draw a veil over the farce of any former day. It was to be hoped, that, now he is safely entered into the Hospital of Invalids, he would leave off the *Jeu de Theatre*, and we will commence a serious enquiry, what instruments he

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employs;

employs, what doctrines he has broached, what measures he has pursued, what steps he has taken to abolish party distinctions, and to summon to the assistance of the public, every species of ability, under what denomination soever it be found. These are objects of national importance; they respect the confidence, the security, nay, the very existence of Great Britain, and will be affected by the events of the last five months, long after the individuals now concerned in them shall have been removed from public notice. Consider a little the state Mr. Pitt was in when he was sent to, the common ties of friendship, the uncommon reasons for gratitude which were on him, with regard to Lord Temple, required him to have formed a government in conjunction with him. Public motives coincided with this; he could by no other means secure a comprehensive and able administration, or a permanent one. His own interest required the same; no other bottom could be so secure, no other support so cordial.

cordial. He has contradicted all these principles, sacrificed them all, and even the hopes of his continuing minister, to the vanity and ambition of the moment, and chose cyphers, that he might appear the *decimal*. If ever there was a period that seemed to promise us some respite at least from the struggles of contending parties, it was that in which we were taught to hope for a coalition of those who were *able* to serve the public, and for a state of quietism and secession from those, who, from a twelvemonth's experience of their inability, were ready enough to make way for any successors, and who, nevertheless, could have given that trouble from their numbers, which need never have been apprehended from their capacity : I mean the month of July last. The R——m party was not even convinced, by the large majority which had attended every measure they had proposed, of their ability to carry on the public business ; so far were they from satisfying others, that they were not contented with themselves, and would thank-

fully therefore have laid hold of any pretence for resignation, upon which they might have grounded the least claim to popularity; but so unfortunate were they, that during the whole negotiation with Mr. Pitt, they could agitate no question in which the public took an interest. Their promotion had been beheld with surprize, the notice of their dismissal was received without regret. But the Great Commoner, in the true spirit of a mighty conqueror, disdaining a bloodless victory, determined to have the appearance of a storm, though the enemy had long before surrendered at discretion; and when he might not only have gained his point, but likewise the thanks and support of the Marquis of R—m, and his friends, (had he observed those civilities which are barely decent;) he chose the temperate moderate plan of dismissing a nobleman of high rank, in a manner which, had it been applied to a menial servant, might perhaps have been excuseable, which afterwards subjected him to a treatment, which he  
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thought it more prudent to put up with, and then *afterwards* to deny that he had received it. Be this as it may, the fact is, that the Rockingham party might, by the very commonest attentions, have been conciliated, Lord Temple and the Bedfords might have been united, Mr. Grenville, though he refused to accept of any office, nay, insisted that no stipulation should be made for him, had promised to assist and support his brother as far as he consistently could. Every thing that could promise harmony to councils, and stability to government, seemed to depend only on the issue of the Negotiation; when unfortunately for this country, *that spirit of haughtiness and of discord* (vide Fuentes's Memorial, presented in 1761) which involved us in a foreign war, now continued no less destructive dissensions and animosities at home. In short, Lord Rockingham was affronted by the mere manner of his dismissal. Lord Temple had a proposition made to him, the terms of which were an insult on his opinions and situation.

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Those who were connected with him, not only by the ties of blood, but of sentiment, were disgracefully parodied with raw unexperienced novices in business. In plainer words, Lord Lyttleton was compared with Mr. C—— and Lord Sh——, and the preference given to the latter. The Bedford party were proscribed, and decisively pronounced to be utterly inadmissible. The consequence of all this was the very reverse of what might naturally be expected; and as it is not easy to reconcile this mode of conduct with the ordinary rules and strict terms of sound prudence, it must be the *prerogative* of Mr. Pitt's superior discretion, founded on *state necessity*, that can alone justify this measure. But he is responsible to the public, not only for those whom he has disgusted and refused, but for those likewise whom he has put forward. Consider a little who they are, and what it has cost the public to have them placed there, and you will not have much idea of his knowledge of mankind, or of his attention to public œconomy.

œconomy. This recruiting officer must have thought that men were scarce indeed, when such high terms were proposed. But the service they were to be employed in might perhaps be of such a nature, as required something more than bare assurances of honourable and genteel usage, and therefore, with serjeants Sosby and Turner, those able advocates for the honourable United East-India Company, he is content to give them a specimen of what they will hereafter receive, not forgetting the nota bene, That Bringers are handsomely rewarded. Considering the fertility of Mr. Pitt's genius, it might have been expected, that the arcanum of his government would not have been so old and thread-bare an expedient as that of bargain and sale. But the ablest generals have been fetter'd by their allies; and when it is remembered, that the grants, pensions and peerages, bestowed within these five months, have gone to an extent scarcely to be parallell'd by five years of any former reign, it must be remembered, that they  
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took place upon Mr. Pitt's coalition with his Grace of N——e, to whose favourite system they must certainly be intended as an honour and a compliment. It cannot, however, but be lamented, that this country, well nigh exhausted by a burthenfome and dispendious war, should be precluded from availing itself of the peace, by a devouring spirit of profusion at home. And yet, as if the faculties of giving grew with the occasions of exerting them, men's requests have been prevented, their very wishes anticipated, a court of claims erected, where every pretension was to be allowed. Several have been even *reminded* of dormant desires, while the greater part indeed did not wait to be sent to, but considered the uncertainty and confusion of the times, as the best title to what they wanted. Upon this plan, and with these encouragements, the public has seen an administration formed under the guidance of one who means to direct *every* measure without being amenable to his country for any. Nor will it be  
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an exception to this assertion, if perchance the noble Earl should find himself so respited from his frequent infirmities, as to stand up (as common observers would phrase it) in *defence* of his ministry ; but in fact, to disavow those sentiments in words, however he might wish to adopt them in principle, with which he first inspired them, (referring to his opinion in council on the legality of the proclamation.) It has heretofore been thought one of the greatest securities to this country, that though by the law the King can do no wrong, yet the minister is answerable for his conduct in government. But the head and heart of this A——n are beyond the reach of the public justice. The man who directs and controuls every measure has found some kind hand to deposite him in a lucrative office, and leaves the executors of his commands to answer for the propriety of those measures, in public, which he will not suffer them to dispute in private. It is a fundamental objection to the present ministry, that *one* man has it in his power to

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direct a measure without being responsible for the consequences, and after ruining, to elude the nation, by putting forward his men of straw. It is of importance to endeavour to prevent such an insult on the understanding, as well as the justice of Great Britain. What hold have we now upon the regard which the Earl of C——m may have for himself, when he can with impunity carry into execution any measure which his presumption may suggest to him? For instance, if an enquiry should be made (as surely it might very reasonably be) who it was that advised the annihilation of the Board of Trade, by stripping it of those constitutional powers with which it was before vested, and degrading it into a board of mere reference; I say, if such an enquiry should be made, no doubt but the great Earl would immediately disclaim it, and leave it to that unhappy young nobleman, who, though he found the Board of Trade alone much too heavy for him some few months before, has now charged himself with the direction

direction and responsibility of all the offices of the American colonies, in addition to the business of the southern department, at a time too when the temper of those colonies required the utmost vigilance and experience, and when the department had been just fled from, upon account of the difficulties with which it was surrounded. It would be an alarming circumstance to any other set of men, than those in whom the fear of losing their emoluments gets the better of all other apprehensions, to find, that when his lordship condescends to hear (which word I beg my reader will observe I do not use to signify *hearken to, or obey*) the advice of others, the persons made choice of are not the officiating ministers. He does not think proper to concert with *them* the steps which, however, he expects *they* should defend: but they are, it seems, implicitly to receive and vindicate any proposition which he may think proper to convey to the public through *any* channel. For the truth of this, I need only appeal to the E. I. business.

finess. The persons who had the credit of being consulted, were Mr. B——d, Mr. N——n C——t, and G— O— of O——m, and Mr. C—— neither knew the purport or the extent of the proposition, or even so much as the time at which it was to be made, till he came down to the House of Commons. But it will naturally enough be enquired, Who are these obedient, good-humoured, confiding, acquiescing, bearing and forbearing gentlemen, who are content to receive their salaries, and every blame which may arise during their m——, while they leave to the Earl of C——m the direction of every measure, the nomination to every employment, and the freedom, as far as *they* can give it, from every censure or imputation? It might have been expected, that for his own sake he would have put forward names which the public were accustomed to hear of in business. Their pretensions to regularity and routine would at least have afforded some colour for the assertion, that they were to act from themselves. As it now stands,  
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the departments are filled either with men who are total strangers to the business, or with those who have found themselves, and been found unequal to the task, or with those who have been much disgusted, and lend their names with diffidence and reluctance. The first class will comprehend the D. of G. and Lord S——. By what secret charm is the Earl of S—— to arrive at knowledge and experience to preside over the negotiations with France and Spain, and the complicated interests of Great Britain and the colonies, when he so lately acknowledged himself unfit and unequal to the smallest branch of that department? The idea, that men in general will ever bring themselves to think that these are the *real* ministers, is such an imposition on their credulity, and such a contempt of their understanding, as can be equalled only by the inscience of the attempt itself. I should really have thought, as his Lordship had been so long used to theatrical exhibitions, that he would have collected together, for the droll of the present season,

season, a set of figures nearer to life, especially too, as he has spared no expence, and his commissions have been unlimited. The only property they have, which approaches towards existence, is, that they are as big as the life ; in every other particular they are materially deficient, and their heads and hands, unless continually supported and played by the great wire-master, droop down, and return to a state of inaction. To speak without a metaphor, the persons Lord C—m has made choice of to fill the nominal posts of government, are such as will never be generally believed to have been designed to execute the business of them. The only man of abilities whom he has employed, was pressed into the service : he knew the gentleman's irresolution, and therefore he gave him but eight and forty hours to consider of it : he knew too the bias of his temper, and therefore gave him to understand, that he was to take the office then offered him, or to have none at all. Had more time been allowed, or a message less compulsory  
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been sent to him, I am persuaded that he would not have submitted ever to echo those traditional sentiments, which the whim and caprice of another may prompt him to dictate. But his lively imagination may perhaps have rather run away with his judgment, even uncorrected by the frequent advertisements he has received from certain quarters; such as, "to reserve his abuse for his absent friends and relations, and not to bestow it on the present Administration." And again, "that it was expected he should give, not merely an official support, but that he should set his shoulders to the work." But I will leave him to form that plan of sound policy for the government of the colonies, which in the last session he declared to be so essentially necessary, that he did not hesitate to pronounce that Administration criminal, which should neglect so important a concern. I will leave him too the rather, as he must be very much perplexed how to dispose of the overplus of revenue which is arisen from our flourishing Country;

Country; and distressed as he must be, in what channels to convey those copious fountains of wealth, which have of late so liberally been poured into the parched British Exchequer. The remaining part of the ministry was composed of such as Lord C——m had found in office, whom he intended should hold their places as long as he should think proper, and on whose unreserved submissions he flattered himself he could depend. In this situation of things, buoyed up by insidious flatterers, who were continually insinuating to him (Lord C——m) that he was the desire and expectation of all men, that his return to power would be a new æra to the British glory; betrayed by the implicit obedience he met with from his nominées, into a belief of general, nay, universal, submission without doors, it is no wonder that a temper framed and constituted like his, should think this country ripe for any proposition which he might make. This, perhaps, is the best apology, as it seems to be the most probable reason for his unnecessary



neceſſary avowal of the doctrines of ſtate neceſſity, and a diſpenſing power. To have iſſued a proclamation at his peril, knowing it illegal, would have been right ; but to take the occaſion of a neceſſary act, to procure a juſtification of the diſpenſing power ; to endeavour to extend this power to caſes of private property, to which it was not ſtretched even by the corrupt lawyers of James II. to oblige his law friend to ſupport this doctrine, then to diſavow it and him ; firſt, to avoid the word, then to diſclaim the principle, tho' every argument and every cavil he uſed tended to ſupport it, is ſuch a mixture of deſperation, ignorance, and meannefs, that I hope but one man is guilty of. What is the plain, the natural inference from all this, but that having liſted himſelf to power upon the opinion of his countrymen, he has now thrown off the maſk, and proved his virtue ſpurious, his zeal for liberty a mere pretence ; and the conſequences are obvious, ſhame at having been deceived, and contempt for the deceiver : ſo con-

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tagious is example, that the man who had passionately declared, that the constitution was at an end, if the meanest subject, falsely imprisoned but for an hour, could not obtain the fullest redress, and that one hour of liberty could not be estimated, is now become so indifferent to the cause of freedom, that he ventures to speak of a Tyranny, even of forty days, not only with patience, but with ridicule. There is one circumstance which renders the fate of this country peculiarly singular, that it should be put in jeopardy by the same men, from doctrines leading to the two extremities which our constitution has to fear, democracy and tyranny. That those who once thought it their interest to halloo the people on to factious tumults, to appeal to them as to the chief arbiters of right and wrong, to teach them to complain, and, ere they're injured, set them to resist, should ever find it necessary or convenient to hold up the doctrine of prerogative, to harangue on state necessity, to talk of a power superior to, and superceding law, to christen

ten this fictitious power with the offensive epithet of legislative, as if the sudden occasion could make it intuitively legal; yet these doctrines are so branded in the front, that there is little danger of their meeting with civil reception amongst us, even were they backed by official authority, and countersigned by the terrors of ministerial proscription. It is to be hoped too, that there is as *little danger* of an abatement of reverence for our —, from the idea that he approves of these doctrines, because he employs and trusts the patrons of them. It cannot be doubted, but that he will take every occasion of shewing them, that the venting such opinions is not the way to recommend themselves to his favour, and that these are not the doctrines of *his court*. It would be barbarous to upbraid a disappointed public, or else one might insist on that general expectation, which was affected to be entertained of the beneficial effects to be derived on these kingdoms from Mr. Pitt's accession to power. A stranger would have con-

cluded from our prints and papers, for the idea scarce extended beyond them, that our national debt would have been instantly cancelled, and that we should have at once become an opulent, flourishing, united, and happy nation. This was the great desideratum in state medicine, the lenient balm to heal our broken and wounded constitution, the grand anodyne that was to free us from all our pains and distempers. It seemed indeed no very promising symptom of success, that this licentiate, like some others, arrogated to himself the sole faculty of judging and prescribing to his patients, and before he entered upon their cure, spent much time in bidding them beware of counterfeits. There were some infidels indeed, who dared to doubt of the universality of this remedy, who thought, that however people might have been dazzled with the bonfires on the French coast, and particularly with the *important* conquest of Belleisle, yet expence would be but ill adapted to the exhausted state of our finances. But these were  
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soon told, that the great Earl's abilities grew with, and were suited to the occasions which required them ; that it was peddling to talk of expence, when vigour and success were the returns for it ; and that leaving finance to those whose particular province it was, his endeavours would be exerted to settle that constitution, and deliver it down incorrupted, which he had before maintained and preserved. Matters are now come to an issue, and sufficient time has elapsed to ground a fair enquiry, how far he has answered the promises of his industrious political sponsors. He has preserved the constitution, by asserting, in its full force, a state necessity : he has maintained the liberty of the subject, by pleading for the dispensing power : he has defended their property, by authorizing messages to be sent to a great, money'd Company, intimating the impending power of parliament. Those who would be thought to speak *his* language, have not scrupled to charge them with a forfeiture of their charter, have spoken of their territorial possessions

possessions as disposeable by parliament, and have added, in no very equivocal terms, that a considerable fine can alone purchase the cession of its pretensions. He has shewn himself so true an œconomist for his —, that the Civil List, which in July last was nine months in arrear, is now a compleat twelvemonth behind-hand; and the public are indebted to him for the appointment of ambassadors extraordinary, aid de camps extraordinary, Commander in Chief extraordinary, and a variety of others, which, even in these piping times of peace, he thought indispensable for the safety of the whole. I speak now of things actually done and given; what was offered and refused, is a separate consideration, though it forms an additional proof, could any be supposed necessary, of the noble Lord's good-will to the public, which I believe is exactly adequate to his knowledge of, and care for the management of its revenues. Still the old question recurs, What advantage has been derived to this country from Lord Chatham's  
present

present administration? Much expence has been incurred, much offence has been given, alarms have been communicated to monied bodies, essentially affecting public credit; jealousies have been sown among the landed gentlemen, as if their interests were to be sacrificed to American and mercantile ideas: the — has been advised to shower that profusion of honours and graces, which saps its dignity, lessens the very favours it confers, and infuses suspicions of corrupt designs; establishments of every kind have been loaded, constitutional questions have been stirred, and, as far as the — could do it by their speeches, decided against the letter, as well as spirit of our Magna Charta. Amidst this attention to private emolument, to official permanency, and this neglect of public objects, and former specious promises, many may be tempted to enquire, what is become of all those plans with which the good people were amused by the Noble Lord, when he was out of power? Where is that redress for their grievances, that relief from their burdens, that pro-  
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vision for their security, which they were so frequently taught to expect, whenever he should come into office? Where are all the ideas of annual parliaments with which the miserable populace have been deluded? Where are the great resources, the strong stamina of revenue, which were so often talked of? How comes it, that those unsound parts of the constitution, against which such frequent anathemas were denounced, still remain? Are not these the great national objects they were before, or have they ceased to be so, only with respect to him? Has he looked upon them as the steps to dominion, and is he now willing to throw them away, for fear any should climb up after him? His confidence is so unlimited in the modesty of Parl—t, that he will not put it to the hazard, whether he may not meet with a less bashful one: his trust is so extensive in the resources of this country, that he is not afraid of adding to, instead of diminishing its burthens. Where is his attention to the poor? Are they to be allowed  
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condign punishment and speedy justice ? The order in which these are placed is exceedingly proper and natural, in the very teeth of the assertion *sequitur pede pœna claudo*. What is his Lordship so keen for bloodshed, that his punishment must outrun his justice, the one a winged messenger may bear, the other some tardy cripple. Was he always such an enemy to popular tumult ? Some will be apt to think (as indeed, in the present times, what is it that they will not think) that the seeds of our late domestic riots were sown last year, in the connivance and encouragement given to the outrages in America, in the concessions made, in the time and manner of their being made, which carried the appearance of a reward, rather than a relief. They will be apt to draw comparisons between the starving, punished Englishman, and the tumultuous, favoured American, and be led to enquire, by what code, what charter, what prerogative, the distinction is authorised, which allots to the one, wantoning in licentiousness, his own heart's

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desire, an exemption from the most just, necessary, and (considering the situation and pretensions of Great Britain) compassionate demands, and which awards to the other, labouring under the pressure of that hard task-master, *want and poverty*, opprobrious names, and a disgraceful and speedy punishment.—But let them suffer, let them rot, let them starve, the Noble Lord, says, he has held the cap long enough to the people; a democratical peer is a solecism, or, in the grammatical language of the affable Earl of N——, a very *sarcastm*. It is to be hoped, that the people will not wear the cap he has prepared for them, and it is believed they will not, if any judgment can be formed from the reception given to the negotiations of his busy friends for a congratulatory address from the city of London. Whatever his opinions may be at present concerning the common people, they are subject to alteration; they have varied, they will probably vary again; and therefore, if these papers should chance to be perused six weeks

weeks hence, the reader will recollect, that they are not intended to foretel what will happen at so distant a period : this must be considered as a *Red Book*, corrected only to the 11th of this instant January ; and when one considers what a retrospect it has, so far back as last July, full five centuries in politics, the variety of men dismissed, disgusted, intreated, insulted, applied to, refused, purchased, (I mean in an honourable way, and for their country's good) during that period, it reminds one a little of the forty thousand conferences which the prophet Mahomet is said to have had with the Deity, and yet, that he found, at his return from them, that all the water was not run out from a pitcher which had just been thrown down at his quitting his apartment : or the story in the Spectator, of the man dipping his head into a barrel, and thinking he had lived for years on a distant coast, when he had only plunged in, and taken his head up immediately. Great politicians and ministers can never measure time by the

ordinary limits assigned to it. The immutable Earl of C——, who has indeed *taken inconstancy from fortune*, and bestowed it, *he best knows where*, must, I am convinced, in his own idea, have had a very long administration: he must look upon himself as an old, a very old minister. No body will pretend to say, that in five months he can have varied his opinions and his conduct, to particular bodies of men, five several times; that in July, for instance, he broke off a treaty with his brother, because he would not admit Lord Gower to any participation in government; that in August, September, October, and November, they, (Lord G—— and his friends) were fit, and unfit, admissible and inadmissible, the objects of his contempt, and of his application; and that in December, he stipulated in their behalf additional burthens to the Civil List, in order to gain them. These are the transactions of a life, the results of much experience, much knowledge of mankind, and must not be computed by vulgar equations of  
hours

hours and minutes ; and therefore it is but justice to say, when the transitions of opinion and the changes of instruments are mentioned, that they ought to be measured by political computation. The Earl of C—— has a particular *time-keeper* ; and if you cast up what he has got for himself and his immediate dependants, you will find that he has been as well rewarded as Mr. Harrison. The great omission seems to be, the not insisting on its being made public, which I think, for the general benefit, ought immediately to be done ; in answer to which, I have heard it urged, that it is much doubted, whether the instrument is perfect, and that it is now upon its *last trial*. But the whole of his Lordship's administration has not been spent in application and treaty ; time has been found too for expostulation, and for dismissal : he was not satisfied with the manner in which he had behaved towards Lord R——m in July last ; he chose to stamp him with an additional mark of his displeasure, and in the person  
son

son too of a nobleman who had been particularly attached to himself, and for the sake too of one, who, after having received his seat in P——, and offices to the amount of 1800*l. per annum*, from the D. of N. had chosen the very honourable part of deserting his Grace, and becoming a profelyte to the Earl of C—— : every remonstrance was in vain, every refutation of the reasons given seemed to strengthen the determination. It was said, that the office belonged properly to the H—— of C——, though a long list of peers who had held it was produced, and though there was scarce an instance of both the staves being together in that house. It was pretended, that the Noble Lord in question was upon a different line, at the very time that Lord S—— and Mr. C—— were secretaries of state. The only argument urged, which required, and admitted of no answer, was the certainty of the resolution taken ; what was to follow, was a matter of perfect indifference to him,

*meditata*

*meditata illi sunt omnia sua incommoda.*

He foresaw the resignations which were to take place, and even hastened them, as a means of uniting him to his cordial friend, the Earl of B—. Could he foresee too, that submission and acquiescence in —, who after having been in four \* different æras of politics since June 1765, had succeeded so far, even with the party which he was leaving, as by dint of intreaty to get their resignations postponed, and was so fortunate a solicitor for his family, as to secure for his — a high office, which he knew was so soon to be given up. The public will not therefore attribute the Earl of C—'s present connexion and coalition to accident, to a hasty compromise, for fear of letting in the enemy at the breach, but

\* The æras alluded to, are, his coming in with Lord R—— in July 1765; his siding with his Lordship in March 1766, in contradistinction to Mr. Pitt, when the D. of G—— resigned, because Mr. Pitt was not taken in; his remaining in office in July 1766, when Mr. Pitt came in, to which he certainly did not mean to contribute in March; and his inveterate permanency in place in November 1766, when a signal disgrace was inflicted on those with whom he originally came in.

will

will impute it to what it really was, system and design ; and though he did not try this expedient till every other had failed him, though the Bedfords had previously refused him, and the R——ms had deserted him, he kept the friends of his old and trusty ally, the Earl of B—, as a *bon bouche*, to come at last and smooth every difficulty. I do not wonder in the least at his asserting, that he is not afraid to look the proudest connexions of this country in the face : the fact is, he has *looked them all* in the face ; he has applied to, courted, intreated, made offers to every division and subdivision of men amongst us ; and is there a division or subdivision amongst us, whom he has not abused, deceived, insulted, and deserted ? It may, perhaps, soon be his misfortune, that there is no new set of men for him to apply to, except indeed the Patagonians : he must tread the old round, of intreating, cajolling, awing, threatening, and proscribing those who have by turns already experienced every winding of his temper. But what is he now doing ? Is there  
there



there not *one* proud connexion, at which he does not look so steadfastly? His eyes have indeed been turned towards it lately, but in an oblique direction. This sort of conduct reduces his friends to much the same dilemma, in speaking of Lord B—, as the boy was in enquiring for St. Anne's Lane. In what separate state is Lord B's spirit now to be found? Is it with the happy, or the condemned? Surely his Lordship must view the Great Earl with a most sovereign contempt, clinging to a lucrative office, and calling to any odd man that is going by, to strengthen his hold. What is to come next may not be easy to determine; but surely enough has been said to shew the futility of the Earl of C——'s pretensions to the support of every well-wisher to this country. His ministry was formed by faction, upon partial, interested, and proscriptive motives, is supported by corruption, and the good humoured assistance of unwary passengers. They act upon plans too expensive for the strength, and contrary to the interests of Great Britain.

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